

Message Text

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TO USMISSION NATO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ATHENS PRIORITY
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
USNMR SHAPE BELGIUM
USCINCEUR BAIHINGEN GERMANY
USDOCOSOUTH NAPLES ITALY
USDOCOLANDSOUTHEAST IZMIR TURKEY

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HOLD FOR OPENING OF BUSINESS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: NATO, PFOR, GR, TU

SUBJECT: GREEK PRESENTATION ON GREECE-NATO RELATIONS

REFS: A. USNATO 614 DTG 031930Z FEB 77; B. USNATO 470
DTG 271800Z JAN 77; C. ANKARA 0874 DTG 041336Z FEB 77;
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D. ATHENS 11439 DTG 221748Z OCT 76; E. ATHENS 12042 DTG
101656Z NOV 76; F. USNATO 751 DTG 111200Z FEB 77

1. WE APPRECIATE THE COMPREHENSIVE AND USEFUL COMMENTS
CONTAINED IN REF A.

2. WE HAVE NO PROBLEM WITH MID-FEBRUARY MEETING OF DPC

AD HOC GROUP ON GREECE-NATO AND CONCUR THAT MISSION SHOULD UNDERTAKE ADVANCE DISCUSSIONS ON PROCEDURAL OBJECTIVES WITH PANSA AND OTHERS AS APPROPRIATE. OUR COMMENTS ON THESE OBJECTIVES FOLLOW BELOW. COMMENTS ON SPECIFIC SUBSTANTIVE AREAS CONTAINED IN GREEK RESPONSE AND ADDRESSED IN REFTEL A WILL BE COVERED IN SUBSEQUENT MESSAGE.

3. WE AGREE THAT GREEK PAPER OVERALL IS QUITE FORTHCOMING. PARTICULARLY USEFUL AND ENCOURAGING IS GREEK INDICATION TO THE ALLIES OF THEIR DECISION TO RECOMMIT MOST NUCLEAR-CAPABLE UNITS AS WELL AS EXPRESSED WILLINGNESS TO PARTICIPATE IN NATO OPERATING PLANNING AND, ULTIMATELY, DPQ

PROCESS. (MISSION POINT IN REFTEL F IS USEFUL REMINDER THAT GREEK PRESENTATION IS NOT ON ITS FACE AS DEFINITIVE ON RECOMMITMENT AS WAS DAVOS LETTER. WE WOULD EXPECT THIS TO BE ONE OF THE FIRST SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES TO BE ADDRESSED AND CLARIFIED IN SUBSEQUENT DISCUSSIONS. ALLIES, AS WELL AS NATO AUTHORITIES AWARE OF THE LETTER, WILL WANT TO NAIL THIS POINT DOWN.) ON DEBIT SIDE, AS USNATO HAS NOTED, RESPONSE IS VAGUE ON IMPORTANT MATTERS OF SUBSTANCE, SEEMS TO ATTEMPT TO LAY THE GROUNDWORK FOR SOME SORT OF GREECE-NATO QTE SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP UNQTE, AND CONTAINS NUMEROUS REFERENCES TO TENSION WITH TURKEY. HOW MUCH OF THIS IS FORM AND HOW MUCH SUBSTANCE WILL DEPEND ON PROGRESS IN RESOLVING RELATED ASPECTS OF OTHER GREEK-TURKISH PROBLEMS AS WELL AS IN THE GREECE-NATO DISCUSSIONS THEMSELVES. (GREEK MOTIVATION AND CHOICE OF LANGUAGE UNDOUBTEDLY STEMS IN PART FROM DESIRE TO PROTECT
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THEMSELVES POLITICALLY AGAINST LEAKS, WHICH HAVE ALREADY STARTED - REF C.)

4. WE CONCUR IN GENERAL WITH OBJECTIVES AND PROCEDURAL MEANS TO ACHIEVE THEM AS DESCRIBED IN FIRST PART OF REFTEL A. WE TOO WOULD PREFER THAT SPECIFIC OPERATIONAL ISSUES BE HANDLED IN TECHNICAL FORUMS BETWEEN GREEKS, SACEUR AND OTHER NATO AUTHORITIES. AS MISSION NOTES, HOWEVER, TURKISH DELEGATION IS ALMOST CERTAIN TO OBJECT TO SUCH A PROCEDURE AND MAY WELL DEMAND THAT ALL DISCUSSIONS BE HELD IN AD HOC GROUP CONTEXT WHERE THEY AND ANKARA CAN MONITOR THEM. ACCORDINGLY, WE SEE OUR MAIN PROCEDURAL OBJECTIVE AS GAINING TURKISH AGREEMENT TO THE PRINCIPLE OF SEPARATE, TECHNICAL DISCUSSIONS. IN ORDER TO ACCOMPLISH THIS, WE SHOULD BE PREPARED TO MAKE CONCESSIONS TO TURKISH SENSITIVITIES AND AGREE TO A MORE ACTIVE, INSTITUTIONALIZED ROLE FOR THE AD HOC GROUP THAN WE MIGHT OTHERWISE PREFER.

5. SUCH A QTE TWO-TIER UNQTE APPROACH SEEMS TO US TO HAVE A NUMBER OF ADVANTAGES:

(A) WHILE YIELDING AS NECESSARY TO THE DESIRES OF THE TURKS FOR AN ENHANCED AD HOC GROUP ROLE, PANSA COULD POINT OUT TO THEM PRIVATELY AND PUBLICLY AS NECESSARY THAT IF THE GOT IN FACT REALLY DESIRES TO SEE CONCRETE PROGRESS MADE IN OPERATIONAL SOUTHEASTERN FLANK PROBLEMS, IT SHOULD NOT OBJECT TO TECHNICAL DISCUSSIONS SUPPLEMENTING AND AIDING THE OBVIOUSLY CUMBERSOME AD HOC GROUP PROCESS.

(B) WE ARE NOT CONVINCED THAT AD HOC GROUP DISCUSSION OF

THE BROADER ISSUES POSED BY GREEK RESPONSE SHOULD BE AS MINIMAL AS MISSION SUGGESTS. ASIDE FROM TACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS OF BALANCING GREEK SENSITIVITIES AGAINST
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TURKISH ONES, WE SEE ADVANTAGES FOR NATO, THROUGH THE MEDIUM OF THE AD HOC GROUP, IN ADDRESSING THESE ISSUES AND SETTING RECORD STRAIGHT ON GREEK INTERPRETATIONS WHERE NECESSARY. WHILE IT IS POSSIBLE THAT GREECE MAY FALL OFF CERTAIN OF HER LESS ACCEPTABLE THESES AS TIME GOES ON, THE FACT THAT THESE STATEMENTS ARE OFFICIALLY ON THE RECORD AND IN THE PUBLIC DOMAIN TO SOME EXTENT (REF C) COULD ENCOURAGE SOME UNDESIRABLE TRENDS IF NOT REBUTTED. WHILE NOT WISHING TO OFFEND THE GREEKS OR DENIGRATE THE CONSTRUCTIVE PORTIONS OF THEIR RESPONSE, WE DO NOT WANT TO LEAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT WE OR NATO CONDONE SPECIAL RELATIONSHIPS OR LESS THAN UNQUALIFIED PARTICIPATION. ACCORDINGLY WE BELIEVE THE AD HOC GROUP SHOULD MAKE IT CLEAR POLITELY AND WITHOUT URGENCY THAT WHILE IT WELCOMES THE GREEK RESPONSE AS FORTHCOMING AND OPERATIONALLY HELPFUL, RESPONSE POSES SOME IMPORTANT CONCEPTUAL ISSUES WHICH AD HOC GROUP WILL BE ADDRESSING IN THE COURSE OF ITS DELIBERATIONS.

6. MISSION SHOULD SHARE ABOVE THOUGHTS WITH PANSA AND SOLICIT HIS VIEWS. YOU SHOULD STRESS TO HIM THAT THESE ARE INITIAL IMPRESSIONS PRESENTED FOR PURPOSES OF DISCUSSION AND THAT WE REALIZE PROCEDURAL STRATEGIES WILL ALMOST CERTAINLY HAVE TO BE CHANGED OR MODIFIED AS EVENTS DICTATE.

7. WE CONCUR THAT PANSA IS APPROPRIATE PERSON TO TAKE LEAD IN GAINING TURKISH ACQUIESCENCE TO CONCEPT OF TECHNICAL DISCUSSIONS, AND LEAVE IT TO HIM HOW BEST TO PROCEED. WE WANT TO TRY TO AVOID IMPRESSION THAT WE AND PANSA ARE STAGE-MANAGING THIS EFFORT, AND OTHER ALLIES

SHOULD, AS MISSION SUGGESTS, BE CONSULTED EARLY ON.

8. ASSUMING THAT MID-FEBRUARY MEETING DOES TAKE PLACE, MISSION SHOULD TAKE POSITION IN DISCUSSION THAT GREEK RESPONSE SHOULD BE WELCOMED AS AFFORDING OPPORTUNITIES TO
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MAKE TANGIBLE PROGRESS IN IMPORTANT OPERATIONAL AREAS. SUCH PROGRESS, IN OUR VIEW, CAN BEST BE ACHIEVED BY CONDUCTING DISCUSSIONS ON TECHNICAL LEVEL, WITH SACEUR (AND THE OTHER MNCS AS APPROPRIATE) PLAYING A LEADING ROLE. THE AD HOC GROUP WOULD FOLLOW THESE DISCUSSIONS CLOSELY, PROVIDE GUIDANCE AND DIRECTION AS NECESSARY AND REVIEW PROGRESS MADE. THE AD HOC GROUP SHOULD ALSO IN OUR VIEW BE CHARGED WITH EXAMINING THE LARGER IMPLICATIONS OF THE GREEK RESPONSE, SEEKING HOW TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF ITS

FORTHCOMING ASPECTS AND FLAGGING POTENTIAL AREAS OF CONCERN WHERE THEY EXIST. YOU SHOULD SAY THAT WE BELIEVE THE DISCUSSIONS CAN BE CONDUCTED ON THESE TWO LEVELS AND AD HOC GROUP CAN JUDGE, AS THEY PROGRESS, HOW BEST TO KEEP THEM IN TANDEM.

9. FOR ATHENS: EMBASSY ATHENS SHOULD, FOLLOWING CLIFFORD MISSION AND UNLESS OTHERWISE INSTRUCTED, TAKE OCCASION TO APPROACH COLONEL CAMBIOTIS ON ISSUE OF TWO NUCLEAR-CAPABLE NIKE SQUADRONS THAT WERE NOT RE-EARMARKED TO NATO EITHER IN DAVOS LETTER OR IN JANUARY 27 GREEK RESPONSE. WE BELIEVE GREEKS OWE US AN EXPLANATION OF THIS ANOMALY. IN OUR MANY DISCUSSIONS WITH THE GOG ON THE NUCLEAR ISSUE, WE HAVE ALWAYS MAINTAINED -- AND THEY ULTIMATELY AGREED -- THAT ALL RPT ALL NUCLEAR-CAPABLE UNITS SHOULD BE RE-EARMARKED. WE NOTE ALSO THAT COL. CAMBIOTIS TOLD EMBASSY ATHENS THAT DAVOS LETTER INCLUDED ALL GREEK-NUCLEAR CAPABLE UNITS (REF D). CAMBIOTIS SUBSEQUENTLY PROMISED TO TAKE CARE OF THE MATTER WHEN INFORMED THAT TWO UNITS WERE MISSING (REF E). HE HAS NOT DONE SO. THIS ISSUE MAY HAVE TO BE RESOLVED IN NATO CONTEXT, BUT WE BELIEVE IT APPROPRIATE TO SEEK CLARIFICATION FROM CAMBIOTIS AS WELL, SINCE ISSUE OF RECOMMITMENT WAS INITIALLY HANDLED IN BILATERAL CHANNELS.

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